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Christoph Riedweg

A German Renaissance Humanist as Predecessor & Some Further Surprises

On the Direct and Indirect Tradition of Cyril's *Contra Iulianum*

Abstract: In preparing the critical edition of Cyril's *Against Julian*, substantial new evidence regarding the indirect tradition of Cyril's massive refutation of Julian's pamphlet *Against the Galileans* has come to light, including some new fragments of both Julian's and Cyril's work and a great number of quotations from Cyril's *Against Julian* by the Byzantine historian and exegete Michael Glycas (12th century).

A thorough investigation of the manuscript transmission has, moreover, shown that the late Augsburg Humanist David Hoeschel (1556–1617) intended to produce a Greek edition of Cyril's *Against Julian* and for that purpose was comparing the readings of various manuscripts between the years 1613–1617. The Paris manuscript Q (Parisinus supplementi graeci 424: saec. XVII ineuntis) may actually have been written in Augsburg with Hoeschel's planned edition specifically in mind.

The article concludes with an addendum on the newly found Codex Patmos 263 by Katarzyna Prochenko and Christoph Riedweg.

Now that the long-standing project to produce the first modern critical edition of Cyril of Alexandria's *Against Julian* has come to an end, with the publication of its second volume in 2017,¹ it is time to look back and take stock of what may have been achieved over these more than two decades and how we came there. I limit myself here to some of the more technical aspects of the production of this critical edition, since the “prehistory” of the project – including the constitution of our interdisciplinary research group and its collaboration with Sources Chrétiennes; the financial support, which over the years we received from various institutions and which allowed the integration of many a promising young academic into the project; as well as the distribution of tasks between the members of the group and its mode of collaboration, with annual meetings on the picturesque and particularly appropriate Ebernburg² – has been outlined in the Preface.³

* I am very grateful to David J. van Schoor (Rhodes University, Grahamstown) for checking the English of this paper.

¹ Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017; Riedweg 2017.

² The Basel Reformer Johannes Oecolampadius, who produced a remarkable Latin translation of Cyril's *Contra Iulianum*, in 1522 acted as chaplain to Franz von Sickingen on the Ebernburg. See also: Kinzig 2016, LXXVI–LXXVIII.

Once constituted, the group decided to adopt a standard editing procedure, with the effect that we started with the checking of all the available manuscript catalogues (a task carried out mainly by Adriaan Breukelaar) and then ordered the relevant microfilms (facilitated, notably, through support from the Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, where Markus Vinzent held a tenured position from 1993 to 1995). Next, our collaborators in Zurich and Bonn made sample collations from throughout the whole preserved text, i.e. of the Prosphonema and of the first chapters of books 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9.

In evaluating the results of these collations we were fortunate enough to be able to pick the brains of recognised experts in paleography, in particular Prof. Dieter Harlfinger (Hamburg/Berlin) who quickly became the key consultant for our project and to whom we owe our highest debt of gratitude for his unstinting help and advice. The results of this *recensio* were then published in the Festschrift for Prof. Hermann Tränkle (Zurich) in 2000.⁴ This included the proposal of a first *stemma codicum*, which allowed the elimination of the *codices descripti*, excepting their marginal notes, which, together with the Latin translation by the former chaplain at the castle Ebernburg Oecolampadius, turned out to be of considerable interest especially with regard to the second pentad of *Contra Iulianum* (CI), where one branch of the bipartite transmission is missing.

This first appraisal of the manuscript situation was supplemented by further research on a) Oecolampadius' translation which on the whole proved to be highly reliable and which rather often allows reasonable conjectures about the reading of the lost Greek manuscript which he had borrowed from Reuchlin's library,⁵ and b) the edition by Aubert which except for Prosphonema and book 1 is the *editio princeps* of *Contra Iulianum*.⁶ Over the years, numerous other individual studies have been published by members of the project group.⁷

1 Indirect tradition

Elaborating the apparatus of sources and parallels, to which particular attention was paid in preparing the edition, I have become increasingly aware of the surprisingly rich indirect tradition of Cyril's *Contra Iulianum*. This is a tradition which had gone largely unnoticed before. On the basis of an in-depth analysis of the sources

³ Cf. also Riedweg 2016, V–VII; Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017, V–VI.

⁴ Cf. Riedweg 2000.

⁵ Cf. Kinzig 2000.

⁶ Cf. Kinzig/Brüggemann 2006.

⁷ For a full list see <https://www.alte-kirchengeschichte.uni-bonn.de/forschung/kyrillprojekt/publikationen-der-projektgruppe> (retrieved June 29, 2017).

and parallels, but also thanks to an extensive use of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG) many new discoveries have been possible. To be sure, we are necessarily dealing here with a work in progress, and in what follows only a preliminary inventory can be given. For, with the Byzantine corpus of the TLG being continuously expanded, still more discoveries are likely to come steadily to light over the coming decades.

On the basis of the results presented in Part 1 and of two important addenda presented at the end of Part 2 of our edition, the main stages of the transmission of CI – from the presumed date of its composition (between 423 and 430?⁸) down to the oldest manuscript preserved (F, end of the 12th or first half of the 13th century) – can be sketched as follows:

- Cyril himself took pains to guarantee a wide circulation of his work in the Eastern Church, as can be gathered from Theodoretus' *Letter* 83 (II p. 216,9–19 Azéma).⁹
- His efforts were not in vain: His contemporaries, the Church historian Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen, as well as the anonymous author of Ps.-Gregory of Nyssa's *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos*, evidently have known and made use of Cyril's CI.¹⁰
- A particularly interesting case is the so-called *Florilegium Cyrillianum*, compiled by an unknown Dyophysite of the late 5th century (by 483), which in the early 6th century was critically assessed and refuted by Severus of Antioch in both his *Philalethes*, written between 508 and 511 in Constantinople, and in his *Apology for the Philalethes*, written some years later during his Egyptian exile: to these three texts we owe not only eight passages from the lost books CI 12–14,¹¹ but also two better readings from book 6 and book 8, which otherwise would have remained unknown to us.¹² Moreover, thanks to Kaufhold's discovery of a further parallel from Severus' *Contra impium Grammaticum*,¹³ it seems evident to me that in 8,48,24 the transmitted φασι ought to be changed to φησι¹⁴ (cf. Kaufhold's translation "Kyrill gleichsam aus der Person des Kaisers Julian: ‚Aber ger- ring, ‚sagt er, ‚ist nämlich der menschliche Körper und voller Schmutz‘.").¹⁵ This

⁸ Slightly different Kinzig 2016, CXV: "etwa in den Jahren 416–428".

⁹ Cf. Riedweg 2016, XI and Kinzig 2016, CIX–CXII.

¹⁰ Cf. Riedweg 2016, XI–XII.

¹¹ Cf. Kinzig/Brüggemann/Kaufhold 2017, 756 (fragments 8, 14–15, 21, 24–26 have come down to us in these works).

¹² Cf. CI 6,27,16 and 8,49,8–9; Riedweg 2016, XIV.

¹³ Kaufhold 2017, 868f.

¹⁴ Not only the main manuscripts FME, but also κ (cf. "dicunt" Oec.) and BCHQ offer φασι, which means, that D's correct φησι has to be considered a clever emendation by its famous scribe Bartolomeo Zanetti (cf. on Zanetti's skills also Riedweg 2016, LXI).

¹⁵ Kaufhold 2017, 869.

in effect also means that one more fragment from Julian's *Contra Galilaeos* (CG) can be retrieved from this passage,¹⁶ which up to now has been completely overlooked. I am happy to present this new fragment here (we shall call it CG 1, fr. 65a):¹⁷ Ἀλλὰ γὰρ βραχύ φησι τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ ῥύπου μεστόν.¹⁸

- Roughly in the same period (late 5th, early 6th century), both the anonymous compiler of the *Catena on Genesis* and Procopius of Gaza made significant excerpts from CI 1–10.¹⁹ There is, moreover, reason to believe that the anonymous author of the more or less contemporary Ps.-Justinian *Quaestiones et responsiones ad Graecos* (*Qu. et resp. Gr.*), a work which was only recently discovered by Peter Toth and is as yet unpublished,²⁰ also drew on Cyril's CI when attributing to Julian a remark which may safely be considered a new fragment from Julian's antichristian pamphlet (I propose to call it CG 2, fr. 91c: "Plato and Aristotle have been sent from the gods to mankind as teachers of truth" (*Qu. et resp. Gr.* 40; cf. 42 and 44)).²¹ It may also well be that the critical assessment of Jesus' prediction of the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem (which Julian thought to have actually refuted by his attempt at reconstruction) already figured in Julian's *Against the Galilaeans* (*Qu. et resp. Gr.* 43,²² which could be integrated into Masaracchia's collection as testimonium 95b²³).
- Less spectacular, but still noteworthy are the four explicit quotes from CI 1 in the anonymous theosophical florilegium *Harmony* (Συμφωνία, between Greek philosophers and the New Testament), which probably dates to the 6th century

¹⁶ One might even ask whether the Greek manuscript used by Severus may not have indicated the change of speaker with the well known headings ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΣ and ΚΥΡΙΑΛΛΟΣ respectively, cf. Kaufhold 2017, 869: "Kyrill gleichsam aus der Person des Kaisers Julian" and after the quote "Desselben Kyrill gegen Julian: ‚Das ist wahr und ich leugne es nicht‘."

¹⁷ In an attempt to bring some order into the rather numerous new discoveries, I will in this paper tentatively assign numbers to them which reflect first thoughts about possible contexts (using mainly the narrative sequence of the gospels as an aid to orientation).

¹⁸ Cf. for ῥύπου μεστόν Iul. *Contra Heracl.* 22, 229d: [...] ὑπὸ καπνοῦ ῥύπου τε ἀναπέπλησται and *In Cyn.* 10, 189b (ῥύπος as one part of the body; in the same context he also uses the phrase σῶμα ἀνθρώπινον).

¹⁹ Cf. Riedweg 2016, XIV–XV and XX.

²⁰ My warmest thanks to Peter Toth for kindly giving me access to this important new material.

²¹ A possible context could be a contrastive comparison (ἀντιπαραβολή) with John Baptist, the ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ (John 1:6). The whole passage *Qu. et resp. Gr.* 40–43, moreover, can most likely be regarded as testimonium for the second decade of Cyril's CI, cf. Riedweg 2017, 941–944.

²² Cf. Riedweg 2017, 943 and 944. This passage could therefore be added to the collection of sources presented by Levenson 2004 in the following three places: pp. 414–416 (Julian), in the section on Fifth-Century authors pp. 419–425 (Cyril of Alexandria) and in the one on Fifth/Sixth-Century authors pp. 426–434 (Ps.-Justin) respectively.

²³ After the fragment discovered by Guida 1996, 248 (which would fit in well as CG 2, fr. 95a).

and which contains some other parallels with CI, but where no explicit reference to Cyril is made.²⁴

- That in 680 AD a full manuscript of CI was still available in the Patriarchal Library of Constantinople, is attested by CI, fr. 13.²⁵ This copy may later have been used by Photius (ca. 810–after 893) and Arethas of Caesarea (ca. 860–after 944), both of whom most likely relied on Cyril’s CI for the fragments they quote from Julian’s CG.²⁶
- The second decade of CI must have remained accessible beyond the Byzantine capital until at least the 8th century, as is amply documented by the fragments preserved in the *Sacra* attributed to John of Damascus,²⁷ the florilegium *Loci communes* (Ps.-Maximus)²⁸ and the important Syriac tradition, which, since Nestle 1880, has been thoroughly re-examined by Hubert Kaufhold for the second part of our edition.²⁹
- It is, moreover, thanks to Kaufhold’s efforts that yet another fragment from Julian’s CG concerning Matthew 2:11 has been recovered in the West-Syrian writer Georg von Be’eltān († 790) (“Julian sagt hier: *Weshalb opfert ihr, wenn Christus Weihrauch dargebracht wurde* [cf. Matthew 2:11], *nicht Weihrauch in den Kirchen*” [conieci, cf. “in ecclesiis”: Dionysios bar Šalibī, CSCO 16, p. 81 Sedláček-Chabot], *sondern zusammengesetztes Räucherwerk* [“aroma”: Dionysios bar Šalibī, CSCO 16, p. 81 Sedláček-Chabot]?”), = Cyril CI fr. 76,2–4,³⁰ for which in Julian I would propose the fragment number CG 2, fr. 91b, leaving 91a for the new fragment on the Christmas star presented by Guida in the present volume).
- Taking up a suggestion by Nigel G. Wilson,³¹ a further fragment has been gleaned from the *Catena in Marcum* by Victor of Antiochia (of uncertain date),

24 Cf. Riedweg 2016, XVIII–XIX. As for John of Thessaloniki (first half of the 7th century), there are no clues to decide whether he has taken his hint at Julian in *De Christi resurrectione* (cf. Trovato 2012, 270 and his paper in the present volume) from Theodore of Mopsuestia (test. VII Guida) or from Cyril (CI fr. 28).

25 Cf. Riedweg 2016, XV and Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017, 769–770.

26 Cf. Riedweg 2016, XV–XVI and LXXXIX–XC.

27 Cf. Riedweg 2016, XVI and Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017, 750–754 (the following fragments stem from the *Sacra*: 1–2, 5–7, 9–12, 17–19, 29a, 31–38, 40a, 44, 46–64a, 66, 68–71).

28 Cf. Riedweg 2016, XVI with n. 28, where 25.-./17e. Ihm = CI 12, fr. 7 Neumann (= CI fr. 9,3–9 Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017) and 5.12./12. Ihm (lacking in Neumann; = CI fr. 47 Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017, without reference to Ps.-Max.) should be added; the other passages mentioned in this note have escaped the editors: 23.11./11. Ihm = CI 16, fr. 33 Neumann (= CI fr. 40a Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017); 3.20./18. Ihm = CI 17, fr. 38 (not 36, as erroneously printed in Riedweg 2016, loc. cit.) Neumann (= CI fr. 53,6–9. 13–17 Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017, where Ps.-Maximus’ *νεανικὸς* seems preferable to *νεανίσκος* [*Sacra*]); 19.-./-./17a = CI fr. 51 Neumann (= CI fr. 69,4f. Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017).

29 Kaufhold 2017, 821–895.

30 Cf. also Riedweg 2017, 943.

31 Wilson 1985, 148.

whose source most presumably was again Cyril's CI (now = CI 16, fr. 45 [Kinzig/Brüggemann 2017], to which in Julian I propose to allot number CG 2, fr. 106a).³²

- Even by the 12th century a learned scholar like the Italo-Greek monk Philagathus of Cerami seems still to have been able to have access to the second decade of Cyril's massive refutation. In a vein of writing and arguing that seems highly characteristic of Cyril,³³ he introduces two otherwise unknown fragments from Julian's CG regarding New Testament passages (fr. I Bianchi, polemically dealing with the metaphor "fishers of men" [Luke 5:10], would fit in well as CG 2, fr. 100a, and fr. II Bianchi, a *reductio ad absurdum* of the promise of Matthew 19:29, as CG 2, fr. 100b).
- The popularity throughout the centuries of the still preserved first ten books is attested by their presence in the *Catenae* in general and in particular by the numerous quotes in Nicetas of Heraclea (ca. 1050–after 1117) and Nicolaus IV. Mouzalon (ca. 1070–1152), the latter having used, as it seems, the hypothetical original ϕ of our codex V.³⁴
- Moreover, a contemporary of Philagathus', the Byzantine scholar Michael Glycas, has read and extensively exploited the first decade. His citations yield three valuable emendations in the second pentad of CI where one branch of the direct tradition is today missing.³⁵

2 Direct tradition

As mentioned above, a first *stemma codicum* was published in Riedweg 2000, 162, which looked as follows:

³² Riedweg 2016, XC with n. 348 and 2017, 941. 943.

³³ Cf. Bianchi 2006; Riedweg 2016, XVII–XVIII and LXXXIX–XC, also on Theophylact of Ohrid, in whose case however, as is true for the Syrian commentators Theodore Bar Koni and ʾĪṣōʿdād of Merv, Theodore of Mopsuestia's refutation of Julian too cannot be ruled out as source.

³⁴ Cf. Riedweg 2016, XXI with n. 52.

³⁵ Cf. Riedweg 2016, XXI–XXIV.

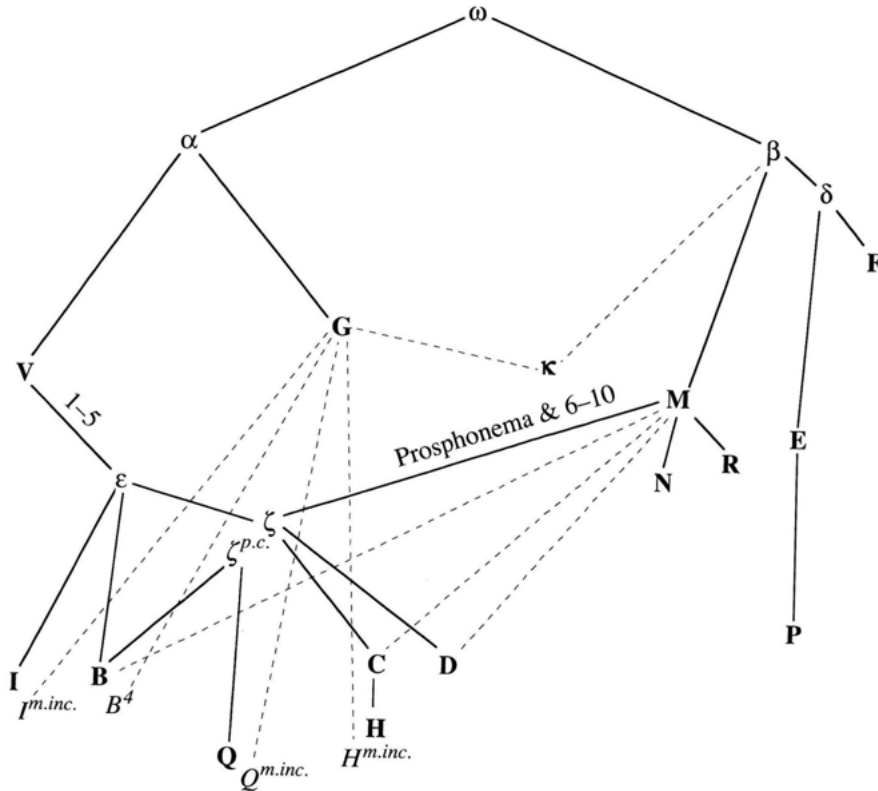


Abb. 1: *Stemma codicum* from Riedweg 2000, 162.

Codices:³⁶

F = Scorialensis Ψ.III.12 (gr. 467): end of the 12th/first half of the 13th century

G = Scorialensis Ω.II.13 (gr. 530) and Hauniensis Fragm. 3121 (olim Kaps. 20 Exp. 5): first half of the 14th century, mostly lost today

V = Marcianus graecus 122 (coll. 295): 1343(?), containing only books 1–5

M = Marcianus graecus 123 (coll. 296): 14th century

E = Scorialensis Ω.III.5 (gr. 538): main part written in the first half of the 15th century

R = Vaticanus graecus 597 (olim 404): middle of the 15th century

N = Marcianus graecus 124 (coll. 389): third quarter of the 15th century

P = Parisinus graecus 1261: beginning of the second third of the 16th century, containing only Prophonema and books 1–3 (with a lacuna at the end)

³⁶ Cf. Riedweg 2016, CCXXXI.

I = Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 339: between 1548 and 1553, containing only books 1–5

B = Monacensis graecus 65: ca. 1550

C = Berolinensis Phillipps 1444 (= graecus 40): ca. 1550

D = Matritensis 4669 (olim O-6): ca. 1550

H = Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 18: end of the 16th/17th century, containing today only books 4–10 (with a lacuna at the beginning)

Q = Parisinus supplementi graeci 424: early 17th century

κ = Capnioneus (codex deperditus ut videtur): first half of the 14th century? From Reuchlin's library, used by Oecolampadius for his Latin translation.

Based on this stemma, the main manuscripts FGVM and the marginal notes in IBHQ as well as Oecolampadius' Latin translation of **κ** were collated in the following years, and the critical edition was launched in Zurich/Rome (books 1–5) and Bonn (books 6–10 and fragments, including the collaboration of Hubert Kaufhold in Munich for the Syriac tradition). Collaterally the manuscripts containing only excerpts from CI had to be evaluated, which, in contrast to the spectacular finds regarding the indirect tradition presented in the preceding chapter, led to more modest results:

Z1 = Vindobonensis theologicus graecus 169: second half of the 14th century; anonymous theological compendium with texts of different Church Fathers and Byzantine authors; 19 quotes from Cyril's CI 2–4 and 6–10; presumably depending on the manuscript F.

Z2 = Monacensis graecus 547: 15th century, from Bessarion's library; a collection of citations from Porphyry in CI, written by Bessarion himself; depending on the manuscript M.

Z3, Z4, Z5: three conglomerate codices, dating between the first half of the 15th to the first of the 16th century; they quote the passage dedicated to the proof from antiquity in CI 1; not relevant for the constitution of the text.

Six younger manuscripts containing excerpts from CI either offer only a minimal quote (**Z6** = Athos, Vatopedi 34) or can be dismissed for numerous individual errors (**Z9** = Evreux ms. gr. 2) or else depend most probably from already printed editions (**Z7** = Rawl. C 850; **Z8** = Carpentras ms. gr. 1865; **Z10** = Athen. Metoch. Pan. Taph. 190; **Z11** = Athos, Xeropotamou 256).³⁷

Only recently another manuscript (**Z**) containing substantial excerpts from the first and the second book has been discovered by my PhD-Student Katarzyna Prochenko in the Patmos library (Patmos 263): It is not only the oldest preserved manuscript to

³⁷ Cf. Riedweg 2016, L–LVII.

date (9th/10th century, which means that it most likely antedates the reconstructed archetype ω), but also offers a couple of preferable readings.³⁸

As for the manuscripts of the direct tradition, travels to the respective libraries, undertaken mainly over the years 2013/2014, have proved extremely helpful, the autopsy of the manuscripts allowing many little improvements, but also some surprising discoveries, in particular with regard to the *codices descripti*. The importance of the glosses added by different hands in the margins of IBHQ, which besides evident errors also offer some good readings, had in fact already emerged from the sample collections, as did the fact that all these manuscripts together with CD can be traced back to a hyparchetype ε , which evidently depends from the Venetian manuscript V.

The latter displays as its distinctive peculiarity a lacunose text in the following three passages: a) 1,9,5 from διὸ δὴ... to 1,11,3 αἵματος; b) 3,2,9 from κατὰ γε τὸ... to 3,7,9 σκεμμάτων; c) 3,13,23 from καὶ ἐτέρωθι... to 3,15,6 ἦν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. Strangely enough the copyist on the other side leaves out seven lines at the beginning of folio 251v between ἐπειδὴ δὲ and ἦν πῶς ἀμήχανον (4,17,1), although no text is lacking.

As we will see, the *descripti* did tackle these lacunae of V in different ways. Yet they all, with the exception of I, share as another characteristic trait that, unlike their primary model V which contains only CI 1–5, they also offer the Prophonema and books 6–10. It is a very reasonable guess that ε will have originated from Venice, where the manuscript M was also available, and which obviously was the source for the Prophonema and the second pentad as well as for the filling in of the lacunae of V in the first pentad in ζ ($=\varepsilon^2$), which in a first step was managed in a rather mechanical way.³⁹

A sure distinction of the various hands in IBHQ became possible only through close on-site inspection of these manuscripts in Rome, Munich and Paris. Crucial evidence was provided by the Munich manuscript B from around 1550,⁴⁰ in which the section containing Cyril's CI, i.e. folios 1r–99v (= p. 1–4 [Prosp.] and 1–195) and 117r–200r (= p. 229–435) is mostly written by Emmanuel Bembaïnes, a copyist from Monemvasia active between 1548–1556 (folios 1–41, 44–132, 149–200), who himself added a few supplements and observations regarding the text at the margin (B¹). Folios 133–148 were written by another hand, which also has added some comments (B²). The following additional hands can be distinguished in the marginal notes:

- “Correcteur pointu” (B³), who offers a good number of supplements in the Cyrillic section.

³⁸ See addendum below.

³⁹ Cf. Riedweg 2016, LX.

⁴⁰ The following section is a summary of Riedweg 2016, XXXVI–XXXVIII.

- The hand of a German humanist (B⁴), who on folios 1r–99v and 117r–200r has added countless corrections, supplements and references to variant readings of other manuscripts. It is this hand that also has written the appendices offering the text omitted in V on folios 4a and 42–43 as well as 45a.

On these inserted folios annotations of yet another hand may be found (B⁵). What is crucial here is that this hand has convincingly been identified by Brigitte Mondrain (per mail) and by Marina Molin Pradel (in her catalogue) with that of the Augsburg Humanist David Hoeschel (1556–1617),⁴¹ who later in this codex also added different marginal notes on the text of CI.⁴² Just to give the reader an idea of the situation: on folio 42r the hand B⁴ supplements the second lacuna of V under the title “Omissa sunt haec”, whereas Hoeschel himself adds the correct οὐρανοῦ (3,2,15) in the margin, moreover the remark “ad pag. 80” and the page number “42.”:

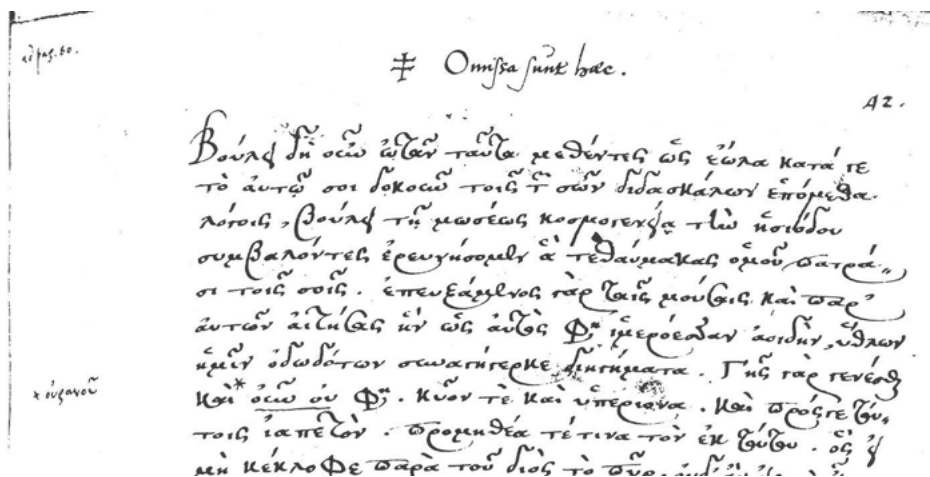


Abb. 2: Munich, BSB, Cod.graec. 65, fol. 42r (around 1550).

So far so good. But the real breakthrough came when, on a closer inspection, I realized that B⁵ shows striking similarities with the annotator Q² of the Paris manuscript, who is discernible also in the hands I² and H³ of the two Vatican manuscripts I and H.

⁴¹ Cf. Molin Pradel 2013, 94, referring to the Monacensis graecus 539 (containing Chrysostomus' *Adversus Iudaeos* 1 and 4–8 “manu Davidis Hoeschelii”) as a comparison.

⁴² Two more hands can be distinguished in Cyril's CI, but they are not relevant here.

To start with I (Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 339, between 1548 und and 1553):⁴³ The supplements of the two smaller lacunae of V in books 1 and 3 by I² show the same characteristic form of writing (in particular regarding τ, ρ, ζ, γ) as B⁵, cf. e.g. folio 3r:



Abb. 3: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal.gr. 339, fol. 3r (between 1548 and 1553).

As for the larger lacuna at 3,2,9–3,7,9, the text missing in V has been added on two interjacent folios by a roughly contemporary hand, which looks very similar, but cannot be identical with I² (I³). Taking up a suggestion of our paleographical advisor Dieter Harlfinger, it seems a warranted assumption that these lines have been written by one of Hoeschel's amanuenses. Hoeschel himself has jotted down on these inserted folios the reference to the page containing the lacuna and two annotations (*recto* side of the first of the two inserted folios, both of which carry the number 37):

⁴³ Cf. in general Riedweg 2016, XXXV–XXXVI.

Something similar applies to H (Vaticanus Palatinus graecus 18, end of the 16th or 17th century),⁴⁴ where the first three books have not survived, so that we do not know how the problem of the three lacunae in V was resolved in this manuscript. But another lacuna is to be found in book 8, beginning at 38,11 from κακοῦ up to 40,6 Μωυσέως. It was obviously Hoeschel himself (H³) who spotted this lacuna, cf. his marginal note (the second) on page 110:

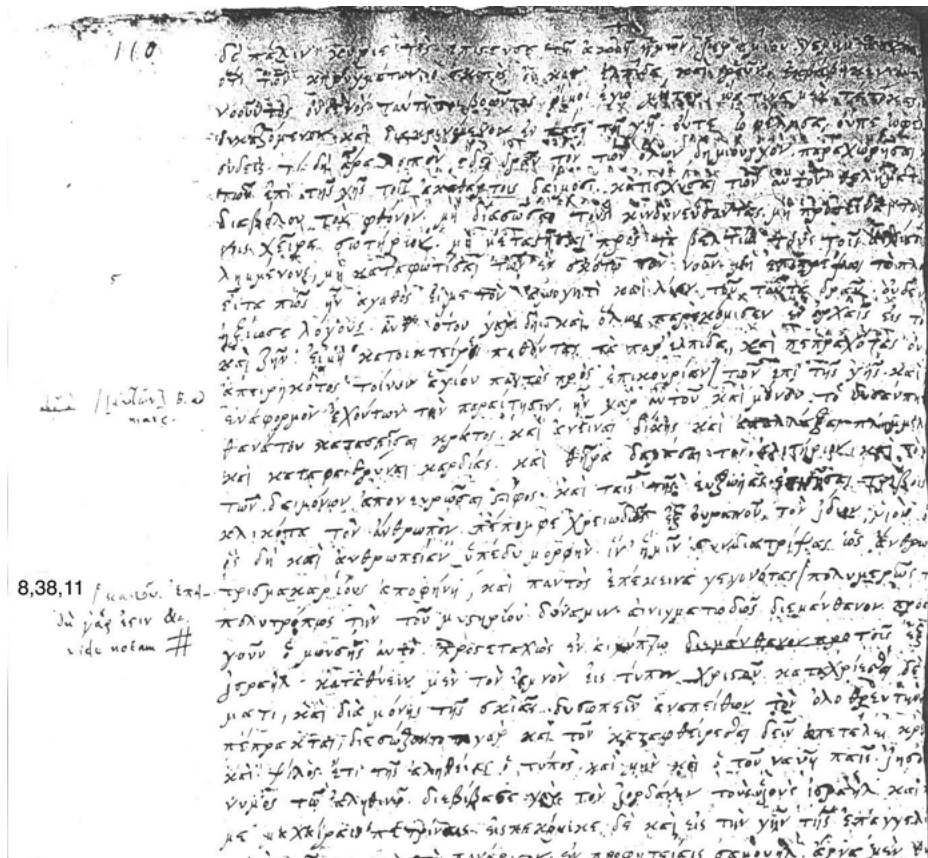


Abb. 5: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal.gr. 18, p. 110 (end of the 16th/17th century).

⁴⁴ Cf. in general Riedweg 2016, XLI–XLII.

And again, it was self-evidently $I^3 = H^4$ who wrote the addendum on an inserted sheet, which, once more, was annotated by H^3 (i.e. Hoeschel⁴⁵ himself), cf. folio “ad pag. 110”:

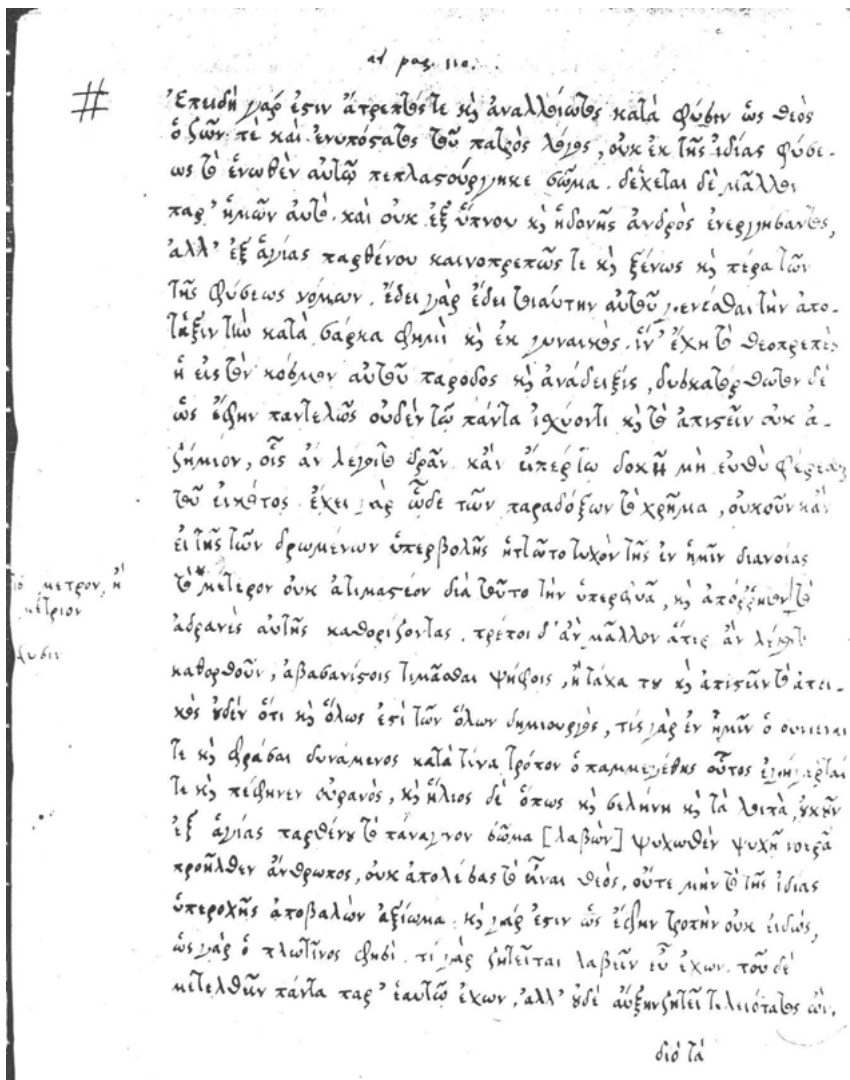


Abb. 6: Città del Vaticano, BAV, Pal.gr. 18, “ad pag. 110”.

⁴⁵ At the end of the addendum he seems, moreover, to refer to a now lost original π of the preserved codex P, cf. Riedweg 2016, XLI n. 145.

This brings us to the youngest and most peculiar manuscript Q (Parisinus supplementi graeci 424, early 17th century).⁴⁶ It is covered in a remarkable number of glosses which offer readings of other manuscripts, the relevant passages usually being indicated by asterisks or square brackets in the main body of the text. These marginal notes mostly originate from Q² (again Hoeschel), who seems to have closely collaborated with Q¹ – to give but one example for illustration:

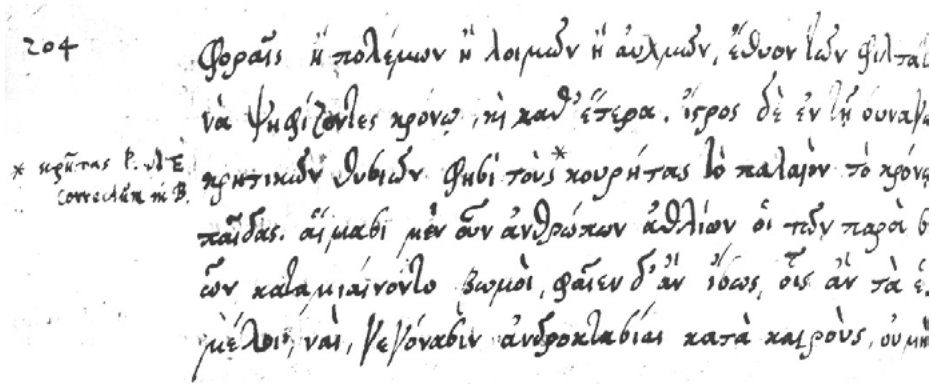


Abb. 7: Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 424, p. 204 (early 17th century).

Critical apparatus in Riedweg 2016, 289 ad 4,20,23:

Κουρήτας] Κορήτας a corr. B(u superscr. B¹) : Κρητας a corr. ICH mg. Q² ("P. et E. correctum in B.")

The manuscripts to which reference is being made in Q, have actually been identified by Kinzig and Brüggemann, later complemented by Savino:⁴⁷

"B." = B ("codex Boicus")

"E." = I (according to Savino 2010, 239 named after its owner Egnazio)

"P." = H (Q² may have alluded to its designation Palatinus)

It is thanks to the collations by Q² that we still have some idea about readings of H in the first three books of CI, which in this manuscript are missing, and on the basis of these indications it has been possible to specify H as the copy which Nicholas Bourbon has used for his *editio princeps* of Prosphonema and book 1 in 1619,⁴⁸ cf. e.g. page 30:

⁴⁶ The following section on Q and on David Hoeschel is an abbreviated version of Riedweg 2016, XLIII–XLVII.

⁴⁷ Cf. Kinzig/Brüggemann 2006 and Savino 2010.

⁴⁸ For the pieces of supporting evidence, which I have collected cf. Kinzig 2016, LXVII n. 250.

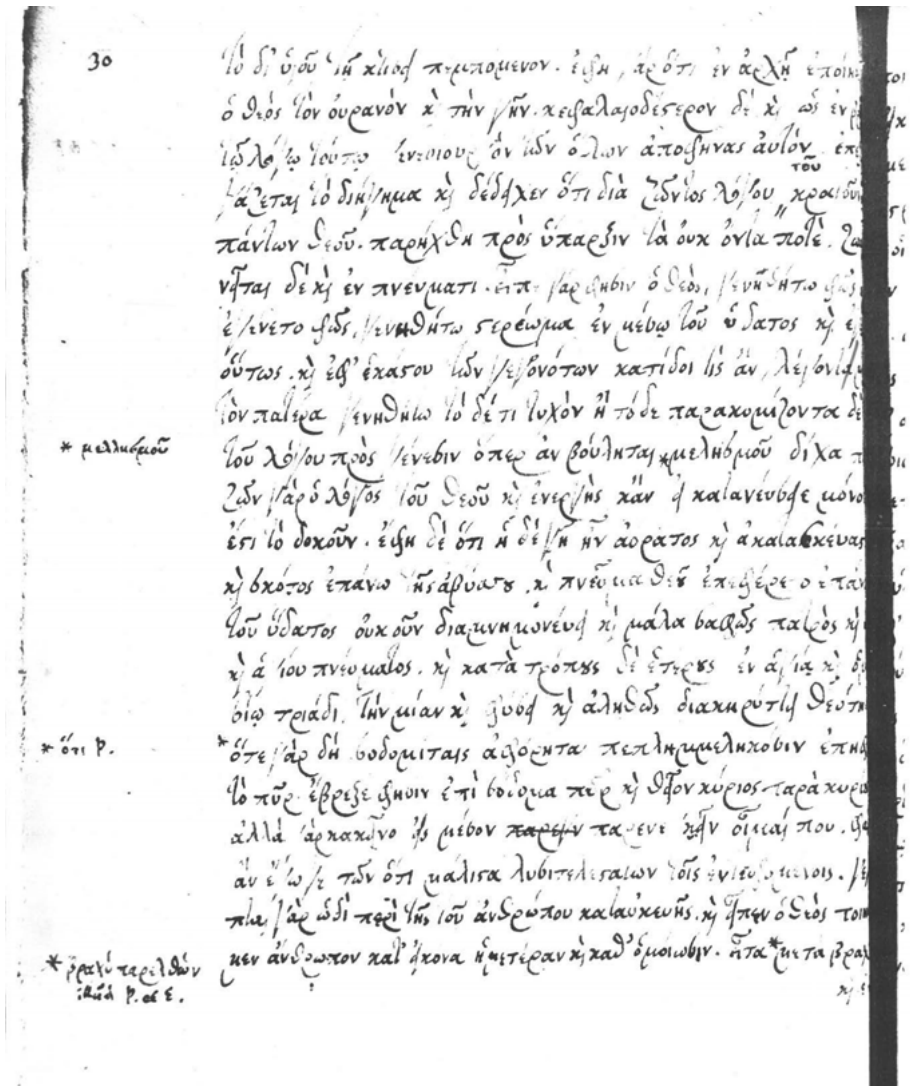


Abb. 8: Paris, BnF, Suppl. gr. 424, p. 30.

Critical apparatus in Riedweg 2016, 52 ad 1,28,26:

ὅτε] ὅτι mg. Q²(“P.”) edd.vett.

The conclusion is obvious: Q² as well as B⁵, I² and H³ can confidently be attributed to the late Renaissance humanist and hellenist from Augsburg David Hoeschel (1556–1617), a remarkable scholar who was in close touch with eminent savants such as Maximos Margounios, Isaac Casaubon, Joseph Justus Scaliger and Justus Lipsius.



Abb. 9: Engraving of David Hoeschel at the age of 48 by Dominicus Custos following Lukas Kilian; cf. Schmidbauer 1963, 102–103.

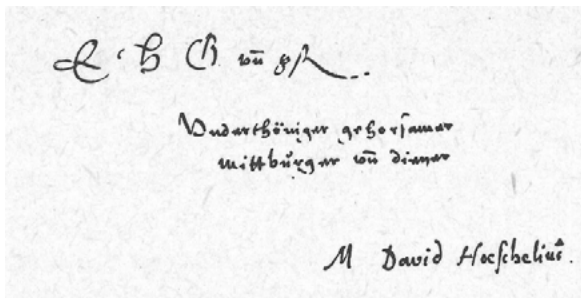


Abb. 10: Handwriting of the 38 year old David Hoeschel; cf. Schmidbauer 1963, 102–103.

Having studied at the University of Leipzig and obtained a *Magister artium liberalium* at Wittenberg in 1579, Hoeschel was teacher at the St. Anna-Gymnasium in Augsburg from 1581 until his death in 1617, from 1593 serving concurrently as rector of this establishment and as town librarian of Augsburg.

He distinguished himself with an impressive record as an editor, having published over the years not only texts intended mainly for school use, but also those of pagan and early Christian authors in the Greek language (whom, interestingly enough, Hoeschel wished to assign a foundational role in high school teaching).

At the centre of his efforts stood John Chrysostom and the two Gregories, Nazianzus and Nyssa, together with Philo of Alexandria, but also Jesus Sirach (*Ecclesiasticus*), Origen (a deluxe edition of his *Contra Celsum* together with the *Encomium* by Gregory Thaumaturgus), Athanasius, Basil of Seleucia, Maximus the Confessor, John of Damascus, the Acts of the Councils and also Byzantine authors, in particular Photius.

Hoeschel's editorial principles testify to a surprisingly modern philological approach, as emerges from titles such as:

- “nunc primum III mss. codd. Palatino, Augustano et Cyprio, inter se conlatis” (title of Chrysostom's homilies *Adv. Iud.* published in 1602)
- “quattuor MSS^{is} Codicibus ex Graecia, Germania, Italia, Gallia conlatis” (edition of Photius, 1601)
- “collatis lectionibus variantibus membrarum Augustanarum vetustissimarum et XIV praeterea exemplarium” (Jesus Sirach, 1604)
- “DCC amplius locis emendati, aucti, illustrati ope librorum mss. ex bibliothecis Palatina et Augustana” (title of John Chrysostom's *De sacerdotio*, 1599)
- “partim menda librarij tollendo, partim lacunas explendo, nonnusquam etiam Notis quaedam illustrando” etc. (dedicatory letter, in: Hoeschel, David, ed. *Alexiados libri VIII ab Anna Comnena de rebus ab patre gestis scripti*, Augustae Vindelicorum: 1610)

One can only agree with Lenk's assessment of Hoeschel as an editor: “Die wissenschaftliche Leistung Höschels ist für seine Zeit verdienstvoll gewesen; seine Textausgaben griechischer Kirchenväter und Theologen waren Kabinettstücke philologischer Genauigkeit und eindringender Kenntnis, die er sich in Jahren im vertrauten Umgang mit den Handschriften der Bibliothek erworben hatte.”⁴⁹

The name of Cyril of Alexandria appears only once on the title of a published work, i.e. in his collection of Greek festive homilies from 1587: *Homiliae quaedam Sacrae Basilii Magni, Gregorii Nysseni, Nazianzeni, Ioannis Chrysostomi, Cyri Germani in praecipuas anni ferias: cum fragmento Cyrilli Alexandrini. Studio et opera Davidis Hoeschelii A. e libris calamo exaratis partim emendatiores, partim nunc primum editae.*

⁴⁹ Lenk 1968, 170.

In the light of his collation activities in IBHQ the conclusion imposes itself that an edition of *Contra Iulianum* must too have been scheduled.

And this, indeed, is confirmed by Veith, Franciscus Antonius, ed. *Bibliotheca Augustana, complectens notitias varias de vita et scriptis eruditorum, quos Augusta Vindelica orbi litterato vel dedit vel aluit*. Vol. 6. Augsburg: 1790, 73–74 (under the heading “de Operibus à Nostro promissis vel meditatis”).⁵⁰

5. *Cyrillus adversus Iulianum Apostatam. Promissit in Epist. ad Kirchmannum.*

Abb. 11: From Veith 1790, 74.

Veith's information is based on a letter from the 29th of October (“4. Kal. Novembr.”) 1612 which Hoeschel sent to Johannes Kirchmann, then Professor of Poetics in Rostock,⁵¹ where the postscript contains the decisive clue:

Nunc totus sum in recognoscendis Epicteteis, Enchiridio, Simplicio, Ariano, inde ad Cyrilli adversus Iul. Apostatam libros accessurus.

We have thus come full circle. Hoeschel must have tackled the project of editing Cyril's CI in the last years of his life, i.e. between 1613 and 1617. This project may well have been suggested to him by his friend Mark Welser, who considered himself to belong “inter primos Cyrilli amatores” and who had inspired the Jesuit Jacobus Pontanus to produce his edition of Cyril's *Commentaries on the twelve minor prophets*.⁵² Yet, to the best of our knowledge, neither Cyril's CI nor the edition of Epictetus, to which Hoeschel's letter refers, have ever been published.

The origin of the manuscript Q is clearly related to this project: it must have been written in Augsburg specifically in view of Hoeschel's planned edition. It may have got from there to the Jesuit Collège de Clermont in Paris through the Augsburg Jesuit College St. Salvator,⁵³ where Pontanus had served as a founding rector.

The new *stemma codicum* takes heed, of course, of the mentioned paleographical findings which led to the fascinating rediscovery of Hoeschel's project. It integrates, moreover, a) the recently discovered Codex Patmos 263,⁵⁴ b) the observation by Savino 2010, that C and B belong closer together than assumed by Riedweg 2000,

⁵⁰ My keen-eyed assistant Dr. Camille Semenzato spotted the following references.

⁵¹ Cf. Burmannus 1697, 189f.

⁵² Cf. Riedweg 2016, XLVII with n. 176.

⁵³ Johannes Isépy has made me aware of the role this college may have played.

⁵⁴ Cf. addendum below.

and c) a series of differentiations which result as a consequence from collating all the main manuscripts and the excerpts:⁵⁵

- hypothesis of a hyparchetypus γ to explain the parallels of G and κ
- hypothesis of an intermediary stage φ between α and V
- abolition of δ (FME seem each to independently go back to β)
- replacement of ζ by ε^2 (mechanical addition of Prosphonema and CI 6–10 to the copy of V) as source of BC and abolition of $\zeta^{p.c.}$
- hypothesis of an intermediary ms. π between E and P (= Hoeschel's Codex Luteianus [H^3 , cf. also I^2 and Q^2])
- assumption that D has most likely been directly copied from C

But the most important result remains manifestly the identification of four marginal hands in IBHQ as belonging to one and the same Late Renaissance scholar David Hoeschel ($I^2 = B^5 = H^3 = Q^2$) and of three others as appertaining to two of his amanuenses ($I^3 = H^4$, Q):

⁵⁵ Cf. also Riedweg 2016, LVII–LXIII.

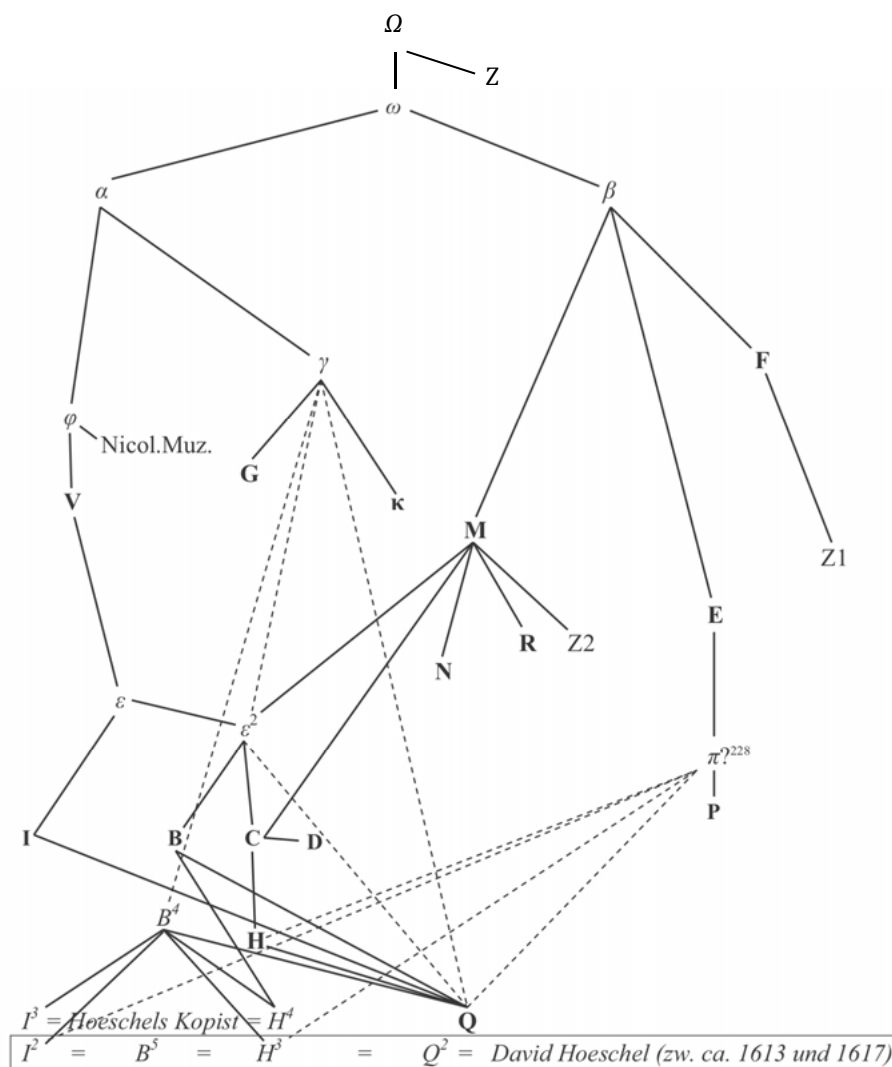


Abb. 12: From Riedweg 2016, LXIII, with the addition of Ω and Z .

3 Addendum by Katarzyna Prochenko and Christoph Riedweg

3.1 Description of the newly found Codex Patmos 263 (Katarzyna Prochenko)

Z = Codex Patmos 263

This small octavo-sized parchment codex contains miscellaneous items, including patristic anthologies and definitions, philosophical collections of sayings, some important lexis and scholia on Demosthenes, Thucydides and Aeschines, as well as minor grammatical excerpts.¹

Z or actually its first part including fols. 1r–212r, has been identified as ἔτερον βιβλιδόπουλον ὅρους καὶ ὑπογραφὰς ἔχοντα ἀπανθισθέντα κατὰ στοιχεῖον ἐκ διαφόρων πατέρων mentioned in the first preserved inventory of the Patmos manuscripts from September 1200.² Thus, it may well have been brought to the island of Patmos in the 1080s already by the founder of the library of the monastery of St. John the Evangelist, Christodoulos.³

The manuscript consists of 276 leaves and is rather well preserved, although some initial and final folios are missing and some other (notably the first and the last, i.e. fols. 1r and 276v) are slightly water damaged. Besides that, in the course of a restoration, the manuscript has been rebound and the margins have been partially cut off (unfortunately, together with some later, though not numerous, marginal notes).⁴ The parchment is yellowish and of relatively good quality. Fascicle numbers are marked at the beginning of each quaternion with Greek majuscule letters in the upper right corner of the sheet; they run partially out of sequence.⁵

The main text on fols. 1r–276v (with the exception of fol. 212v)⁶ is apparently written by one hand, using brown ink and probably also a yellow highlighter (for

¹ General description of the codex and its contents can be found in Sakkelion 1890.

² See Astruc 1981, 27 l. 172. See also the commented edition of Diehl 1892, 521 n. 5.

³ See Papaioannou 2015, 269.

⁴ In a private note, the librarian at the Monastery of St. John the Theologian at Patmos, Mr. Ioannes Melianos, to whom I warmly thank for sharing with me this and many other details, informed me, that the restoration of this manuscript might have been entrusted, between 1814 and 1830, to a monk and bookbinder named Νικήφορος Ασημίνης. However, it is well possible, that the missing folios had already been lost by that time.

⁵ I would like to express here my personal gratitude to Prof. Santo Lucà for his extraordinary generosity in providing me with his numerous unpublished codicological and palaeographical observations regarding fasciculation, ruling type, identification of the writing hands and styles in Z.

⁶ The text on fol. 212v, which the main copyist probably intentionally left blank, apparently was written shortly afterwards.

titles, headings and initials). Occasionally, and in particular where the text has faded or become damaged by water, it has been overwritten by later hands (14th–15th century) in black and red ink, which is used also for highlighting some initials and in marginal notes. Moreover, on the margins of fols. 270v–271v another hand has added a short collection of sayings attributed to the Seven Sages.⁷

Each page contains one block of text, which is distributed into 23–29 lines⁸ ruled on the parchment according to the patterns 23C1a, 22C1a (fols. 1–112) and 02C1a (fols. 213–276) of Leroy/Sautel's repertoire.⁹ The small, regular, and quite square minuscules stand upon the lines and sometimes lean slightly forwards, becoming more cursive from fol. 213r onwards. The majuscules, with the exception of the uncial headings, are quite rare. The breathings are angular, the accents and punctuation marks inconspicuous. The letters are frequently linked together, but only in small groups. Multiple abbreviations, mostly for the *nomina sacra*, and some symbols have been employed. Moreover, there are some ligatures, among which *epsilon* with *rho* “en as de pique”. It is due precisely to this distinctive, though not regularly employed writing feature, that Guglielmo Cavallo argued for an Italo-Greek origin and dated the manuscript to the third quarter of the 10th century.¹⁰ However, recent studies have raised doubts about the Italian provenance of the Patmiac manuscript.¹¹ In a private note, Prof. Santo Lucà assures me that this codex could hardly have been manufactured in Italy: its elaborated writing style, which he describes as “una minuscola antica elegante, posata sul rigo, che potremmo definire *minuscola antica quadrata* nei fols. 1r–212r; e una minuscola «informale» o corsiveggiante nei fols. 212v–276v”, would rather point towards Eastern provinces of the 9th or early 10th century.

The excerpts of *Contra Iulianum* start from fol. 269v under the title Πυθαγόρου δόξα περὶ ἑνὸς θεοῦ and break off in the middle of a sentence on fol. 276v (being the last folio preserved of the mutilated codex). They form a kind of florilegium, with subheads extracted from Cyril's text, which sometimes include the source of the quotation (Plutarch, Porphyry, etc.). The citations themselves are usually marked by horizontal strokes in the left margin. There is no hint given of Cyril of Alexandria as

7 Ed. Sakkellion 1890, 130 = 1877, 6 n. 1. Erbse 1995, XXVII–XXX, who included cod. Patmos 263 in his edition with the siglum O (section π of *Thesauri minores*: προφητεῖαι τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν), dated this hand to the 14th century. In a private note, Prof. Santo Lucà suggests, however, an earlier date (12th century?).

8 In the first part of the manuscript (fols. 1r–212r), which is dedicated to the patristic anthologies and definitions, there are less lines and wider spacing on the page. Conversely, the text of the second, “profane” part (fols. 212v–276v) becomes denser and the spacing narrower.

9 Sautel 1995, 93, 143, 147.

10 Cavallo 1980, 165–7, 171, 185. See also Devreesse 1955, 34–37, Canart 2008 (1969), id. 1978, 142 n. 89, and Leroy 1978, 61.

11 See Lucà 1990, 72 n. 177, and id. 2007, 54 n. 30.

the source of the excerpts, which is somewhat surprising against the background of the numerous citations from Cyril's other writings dedicated to the exegetical commentaries on the New Testament in the initial part of the codex.

I came across the Patmos manuscript during my research on the textual transmission of the *Pythagorean Sentences* for the PhD thesis supervised by Prof. Christoph Riedweg. The particular juxtaposition of sayings attributed elsewhere to Pythagoras¹² and the chapter entitled *Pythagoras' doctrine of one God* (which actually turned out to be a series of excerpts from Cyril's *Contra Iulianum*) in Z brought to mind the Arabic lives of Pythagoras, presumably based on the Greek text composed by Pophyry. Thus, in the 11th century al-Mubashir ibn-Fatik, and later other Arabic authors too, apparently used a full version of Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, accompanied by a longer gnomologium (to some extent similar to the one attributed to Sextus in Z), which is not preserved in Greek.¹³ In this context, it may be worth noting, that another fragmentary manuscript of *CI*, namely Z4 (Vindob. phil. gr. 225), besides an excerpt of its chronographical section 1,6,1-16,23f., also contains a version of the *Pythagorean Sentences* and the *Life of Pythagoras*, the latter being quoted in *CI* as belonging to the first book of Porphyry's *History of Philosophy* (Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία).

3.2 The transmission of Cyril's *CI* in Z (Christoph Riedweg)

The following passages from Cyril's *CI* may be found on folios 269v–276v:

- 1,42,1–1,49,20
- 2,14,10–2,18,7
- 2,22,7–2,23,19
- 2,30,1–2,31,3
- 2,31,10–2,32,1, with the Codex ending after πάνσοφος abruptly in the middle of a phrase (one or more folios must have gone lost).

In an attempt to obfuscate the Cyrillian origin of these excerpts and to make them appear as independent direct quotations, the unknown author has at the beginning rather consistently transformed Cyril's introductory remarks into titles, before he later became more negligent in this respect:

- 1,42,1 Πυθαγόρας γοῦν φησιν → Πυθαγόρου δόξα περὶ ἑνὸς θεοῦ
- 1,42,12 Ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ὥδε πη φθέγγεται → Πλάτωνος δόξα (NB: the beginning of Porphyry's explication of Plato's position in 1,43,1–3 has been copied unchanged)

¹² In Z fols. 223r–226v these sayings are entitled Σέξτου γνώμαι κατὰ στοιχείων.

¹³ See Izdebska 2018, 868, 873–878.

- 1,43,14 Ὁ δέ γε τρισεμείστος Ἑρμῆς οὕτω πῶς φησι → Ἑρμοῦ τρισεμείστου δόξα
- 1,44,1 Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτός → Τοῦ αὐτοῦ
- 1,44,12 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Σοφοκλῆς οὕτω φησὶ περὶ θεοῦ → Σοφοκλέους δόξα
- 1,44,22 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Ξενοφῶν → Ξενοφώντος δόξα
- 1,45,9f. Φησὶ γάρ ὁ Πορφύριος ἐν τετάρτῳ βιβλίῳ Φιλοσόφου ἱστορίας, ὡς εἰπόντος Πλάτωνος περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ οὕτως → Πορφυρίου ὡς Πλάτωνος εἰπόντος περὶ τἀγαθοῦ ἐκ τοῦ δ' λόγου φιλοσόφου ἱστορίας
- 1,46,1 Καὶ μὴν καὶ Ὀρφεὺς αὐθις οὕτω πού φησιν → Ὀρφέως
- 1,46,9 Ὁ δέ τρισεμείστος Ἑρμῆς οὕτω φθέγγεται περὶ θεοῦ → Ἑρμοῦ τρισεμείστου περὶ θεοῦ φησὶν (sic)
- 1,46,13 Καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς αὐθις → Τοῦ αὐτοῦ
- 1,46,19–21 Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτός, ὡς ἐρομένου τινὸς τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τεμενιτῶν καὶ λέγοντος...φησὶ → Τοῦ αὐτοῦ φησὶ δὲ ὡς ἐρομένου τινὸς ἓνα τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τεμενιτῶν καὶ λέγοντος...καὶ εἶπεν ὁ μέγας ἀγαθὸς δαίμων
- 1,46,29f. Καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν λόγῳ πρώτῳ τῶν Πρὸς τὸν Τὰ διεξοδικῶν οὕτω λέγει περὶ θεοῦ → τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν Τὰ διεξοδικῶν λόγου πρώτου περὶ θεοῦ λέγων
- 1,47,5 Πορφύριος γάρ φησι, Πλάτωνος ἐκτιθέμενος δόξαν → Περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. Πορφύριος φησι Πλάτωνος ἐκτιθέμενος δόξαν
- 1,47,18 Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς Πορφύριος περὶ Πλάτωνος → Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πορφυρίου περὶ Πλάτωνος
- 1,48,14 Λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐν λόγῳ τρίτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν → Ἑρμοῦ ἐκ τῶν Πρὸς Ἀσκληπιὸν λόγου γ' περὶ θεοῦ φησιν (sic) (NB: no change in 1,48,20 Καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρα φησιν)
- 1,49,8f. Καὶ πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τρίτῳ τῶν Πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν, ὡς ἐρομένου τινὸς περὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος, φησὶν οὕτως → Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πρὸς Ἀσκληπιὸν λόγου γ' ἡρετό τις τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα φησὶ περὶ τοῦ θείου πνεύματος. ὁ δὲ ἔφη οὕτως
- 2,14,10–12 Πλούταρχος τοῖνυν, ἀνὴρ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἄσχημος γεγονώς, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ Φυσικῶν δογμάτων συναγωγῆς οὕτω φησὶ περὶ τοῦ κόσμου → Πλουτάρχου ἐκ τοῦ β' βιβλίου Φυσικῶν δογμάτων συναγωγῆς περὶ τοῦ κόσμου (NB: no change in 2,15,1 Εἴτα περὶ τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ κόσμου ὧδε πάλιν [πάλιν ὧδε VZ] φησὶν and 2,15,6f. Ἐφη δὲ πάλιν τὰς τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλοσόφων δόξας εἰς ἐξήγησιν προτιθεῖς, εἰ [ἢ Z] ἔμψυχος ὁ κόσμος ἢ μή, οὕτως)
- 2,22,7 Ἐφη γάρ που περὶ αὐτῶν ἰσχνὸς ὦν ἄγαν ὁ Πλούταρχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ βιβλίῳ Φυσικῶν δογμάτων συναγωγῆς → Πλουτάρχου περὶ εἰδους θεοῦ ἐκ τοῦ α' βιβλίου Φυσικῶν δογμάτων συναγωγῆς (NB: no change in 2,22,13 Καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ nor even in 2,22,19f. Προσεποίσω δὲ τούτοις, ἃ γέγραφέ ποτε καὶ ὁ τρισεμείστος Ἑρμῆς Πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν [νοῦνον Z] – ὀνομάζεται γὰρ ὧδὶ τὸ βιβλίον or in 2,23,4 φησὶ δὲ οὕτως [sc. Ἰουλιανός] and 2,23,12 Καὶ μεθ' ἑτερα πάλιν respectively)
- 2,29,23/30,1f. (διαμενήσομαι δὲ) τῶν Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ τρισεμείστου λόγων. Ἐφη γάρ οὕτως ἐν τῷ Πρὸς Ἀσκληπιόν → Ἑρμοῦ τοῦ τρισεμείστου ἐκ τοῦ Πρὸς

Ἀκσληπιπὸν λόγου (NB: no change in 2,30,12 Καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν περὶ τῆς γῆς. Ἡλίου δὲ πέρι πάλιν ὧδέ φησι nor in 2,30,19f. ὁμοίως ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Πρὸς τὸν Τὰ διεξοδικῶν λόγῳ πρώτῳ φησίν)

- 2,31,10 Διαμνημονεύει δὲ καὶ τούτου πάλιν ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς τρισμέγιστος Ἑρμῆς. Εἰσκεκόμικε γὰρ λέγοντα τὸν θεὸν τοῖς κτίσμασιν → τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὰ κτίσματα (NB: no change in 2,31,18f. Κατατέθηπε δὲ [sc. Ἰουλιανός] οὐ μετρίως αὐτὸς τὴν Πλάτωνος δόξαν καὶ φησιν nor even when Cyril takes over again in 2,32,1 Ἴδου δὴ σαφῶς κτλ.)

As for the position of the manuscript with regard to the direct tradition of Cyril's CI, the Patmiacus most probably is older than the archetype ω proposed up to now. It seems therefore reasonable to make Z depend from a predecessor of ω (Ω). Such an assumption is actually confirmed by the fact that Z cannot be assigned to either of the two main branches α and β , nor does it incidentally share the many transpositions of words typical of V. It rather shows a clear independence, sometimes siding with $\beta(\kappa)$,¹⁴ sometimes with $(\kappa)V$.¹⁵ This independence, however, does not mean that one has to automatically follow the readings of the Patmiacus, for its scribe seems quite prone to individual errors.¹⁶

14 Cf. e.g. 1,44,13 Εἷς ($\beta\kappa$: ἐν V), ἀληθείαισιν ($\beta\kappa$: ἀληθείαις V); 1,47,8 τρίτην (FM : τρίτη E : τρίτον κV); 2,14,11 Φυσικῶν ($\beta\kappa$: φυσικῆς V); 2,15,1 φησὶν ($\beta\kappa$: φασὶν V); 2,15,3 εἶναι (β : om. V); 2,15,3f. σφαιροειδεῖς...κόσμους ($\beta\kappa$: σφαιροειδῆ τὸν κόσμον V); 2,15,4 ἐνδέχεσθαι (β : δύνασθαι V); 2,23,8 ἄνδρα (β : ἄνδρας κV); 2,23,8 ἅπαντες (β : μὲν add. V); 2,23,9 πεπιστεύκαμεν (β : πεπιστεύκασιν V); 2,30,4 καὶ! ($\beta\kappa$: om. V); 2,30,4 ὡς εἶπον ($\beta\kappa$: om. V); 2,30,15 γένναν (β : γένεσιν V); 2,31,13 μου ($\beta\kappa$: om. V).

15 Cf. e.g. 1,43,17f. ὀλιγοχρόνῳ (V : ὀλιγοχρόνῳ β); 1,46,4f. ἡνίκα...πρώτην (V : om. β); 1,46,16 προκύψασα (κV : προκύψασα β); 1,46,29 τὸν (κV : τὰ τῶν β); 1,47,2 δεῖν (κV : δεῖ β); 1,47,3 προσεπενεγκεῖν (κV : προσενεγκεῖν); 1,47,4 αὐτῶν (κV : αὐτῷ β); 1,48,10 κἂν (V : καὶ β); 1,48,13 Μελήτου (V [cf. Riedweg 2017, 940] : Μελίτου $\beta\kappa$); 1,48,15f. παρέχεσθαι (κV : παρέρχεσθαι β); 2,15,4 σχήμασι (V : σχηματισμοῖς β); 2,15,13 περιέχειν (κV : περιέχει β); 2,15,14 δέ (V : γε add. β); 2,16,2 ἀλλήλων (κV : Ἑλλήνων β); 2,17,23 δὴ om. (V : praebebet β); 2,18,4 τοῦ (V : αὐτοῦ β); 2,23,11 πάντας (κV : πάντα β); 2,30,5 κυρίου (V : om. $\beta\kappa$); 2,30,19 διεξοδικῶν (κV : διεξοδικῷ β); 2,31,2 πρέποι (V : πρέπον β).

16 Cf. e.g. 1,42,7 φησι (λέγει cett.); 1,42,10 τὰ om.; 1,43,4 δὲ om.; 1,43,6 ἡμῶν (ἡμῖν cett.); 1,43,10 ἐπὶ (ἔστι cett.); 1,43,16 τῷ τελείῳ (τὸ τέλειον cett.); 1,43,25 εἰδέας (ιδέας cett.); 1,43,28 ἄλλο (ἄλλω cett.); 1,44,3f. μηδ' αὖ (μηδὲ cett.); 1,44,6f. καὶ...ἀγέννητον om.; 1,45,1 κατὰ τὴν φύσιν καὶ (κατὰ φύσιν τε καὶ cett.); 1,45,14f. πρὸ αἰῶνος (προαιώνιος cett.); 1,45,15 τοῦ om.; 1,45,17 διὰ τὸν θεὸν αὐτογόνως παρελθόντος (παρελθόντος αὐτογόνως ἐκ θεοῦ cett.); 1,46,19 ἓνα ante τῶν suppl.; 1,46,24 γένεσις (fort. recte? γέννησις cett.); 1,47,2 οὗτοι (αὐτοῖ cett.); 1,47,14 ζωοποιεῖν (ζωοποιεῖ cett.); 1,47,17 ὁ Χριστός (Χριστός cett.); 1,48,1 δὲ om.; 1,48,8 εἶναι om.; 1,48,13 κώνιον (κόνειον cett.); 1,49,2 ἐκείνου (ἐκ νοῦ cett.); 1,49,2 ἡγοῦμαι (ἐγῶμαι cett.); 2,14,20 εἶναι τῷ (εἶναι τὸ cett.); 2,15,7 ἡ (εἰ cett.); 2,15,16f. ἦν αὐτοῖς βασιάνισαι πάλιν τὸ πότερον ποτε om.; 2,15,22 καὶ om.; 2,17,1 Ἐτομολογεῖ (Ετομολογεῖ cett.); 2,17,2 ὁρᾶν (ὁρανὸν V : ὁρατὸν cett.); 2,17,2f. οὐρανόν (οὐρανός cett.); 2,17,3 Ἀριστοτέλη (Ἀριστοτέλει β : Ἀριστοτέλης V); 2,17,3 ἔχειν om.; 2,17,11 δι' om.; 2,18,3 ὀνομασμένως

At the same time, whenever a reading of Z coincides with other early witnesses of the indirect tradition, one is well advised to sift the evidence with great care.

As a result, and taking into account characteristic features of Cyril's (1,47,3; 1,47,14f.) and Porphyry's style (1,45,15), I would like to propose to change the text of my 2016 edition in the following places:

- 1,42,4 ἐργάτας Cyr.(Z) Ps.-Iust.(Marcell.?) Clem.Al. : φῶς Cyr.(cett.)
- 1,45,15 ἡρτημένος Z : ὠρμημένος cett.
- 1,47,1 ὥς γε οἶμαι ταυτί πρὸς Z : ὥστε εἶναι ταύτην ὡς Anonym.(Symph.) : ταυτί πρὸς cett.
- 1,47,3 προσεπενεγκεῖν οἷς ἔφην Z : οἷς ἔφην προσεπενεγκεῖν transp. cett.
- 1,47,6 ὑποστάσεων ἔφη Πλάτων Z Cyr.(CI 8) Didym.(?) Anonym.(Symph.) : ὑποστάσεων cett. (ἀποστάσεων Migne)
- 1,47,14f. πρόεισι γὰρ Z Anonym.(Symph.) : καὶ πρόεισιν cett.
- 1,49,2 τὸν υἱὸν φησι Z Anonym.(Symph.) : φησὶ τὸν υἱὸν transp. cett.
- 1,49,9 τινὸς τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα Z Didym.(?) : τινὸς cett.

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(ὠνομασμένων cett.); 2,22,20 νοῦνον (νοῦν ὄν? νοῦν cett.); 2,30,11 γῆς (γῆ cett.); 2,30,23 φωνίτατον (φωτεινότητον cett.).

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